4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

266 727 or shell knife. This was the signal for the rest, who came one at a time, each one cutting off a portion of flesh, until the bones were stripped and life extinct. Men, women and children partook of the feast. The flesh was sometimes roasted, sometimes eaten raw. Before life was quite extinct they opened the breast and tore out the heart, which was passed from hand to hand among the chiefs and captains, each one biting it and sucking the blood and sprinkling it to the east.

[788] In later years this cannibalism was gradually discontinued, although the prisoners of war were still sacrificed. It became the custom to slay them with a stone club, the chiefs biting the heart and sucking the blood as before, after which it was carried round the village in procession together with the head, both stuck on the points of long lances. The flesh was stripped from the limbs and the bones used for making flutes and whistles. The trunk was then thrown out to the dogs and birds of prey. The heads of the enemies slain in battle were cut off and carried in triumph to the villages, where they were afterwards used as drinking vessels in the feasts.

721 *War.*—The Araucanos were essentially a warlike race, as their prolonged resistance, of nearly three centuries, to the Spanish arms clearly demonstrates. During this long period their military organisation became much perfected.

When war was declared, one of the *toqui* (war chiefs) sent round a bloody arrow to all the other war chiefs, by a special messenger, who also carried a *quipu* or *pron* of red woollen cords with certain knots tied in it, indicating the time and place of the general reunion. This *pron* contained one cord for each chief invited, and on receiving it he added certain knots to indicate the number of followers he could muster, afterwards sending it on with much secrecy to the next chief. These reunions generally took place in the spring. Here were discussed the causes for declaring war, the arrangements for the coming expedition, the number of warriors each district should provide, and the levies of provisions to be contributed by each *rehue*. Here, too, the general in chief was elected from among the principal *toqui*.

702 Once the date of the expedition was decided, the preparations were carried on with much secrecy. The warriors were chosen, and practised in gymnastic and warlike exercises daily. A general abstinence, especially from intoxicating liquors and sexual intercourse, was adopted, while great attention was paid to the thorough preparation of arms. When the army was assembled, the general named his chiefs of divisions, who in turn selected their officers, and distributed the *conas* or soldiers.

723 Before marching it was customary to discuss the plan of campaign, and all its details of stratagems, ambushes, attacks, surprises, etc.

At the time of the Spanish invasion it was the custom to march in disorderly bodies without any attempt at formation; but experience taught them to organise their methods better, and a stricter discipline was established and bodies of scouts thrown out in advance. But no discipline was of avail when some superstitious

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SG4 Araucanians SG4

incident occurred upon the march, if such were considered inauspicious. The army immediately broke up and returned to camp. All discipline was lost, too, at the moment that booty presented itself. Then it became each one for himself.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards and for some time afterwards, the army was composed entirely of infantry (*namantu linco*); but later on considerable bodies of cavalry were maintained.

The arms consisted of bows and arrows (*pulqui*), lances (*rengi*), spears (*huaiqui*), slings (*huitrahue*), and clubs (*lonco quillquill*). The bows were small, and the arrows thin bamboos, either sharpened, or with stone heads with serrated edges, and occasionally pointed bones. Sometimes their arrows were poisoned with the juice of the *coliguaya oderifera*. This poison was carried in small stone or earthenware jars, and smeared on the arrow tips immediately before use. The Spaniards applied salt to the wound as an antidote. The lances were long bamboos, from 15 to 20 feet in length, while the spears were about half this length. Both had stone or bone heads, or else were pointed and hardened in the fire. Their clubs were formed from *luma*, an exceedingly hard and heavy wood. They were generally more than 6 feet long, and were shaped with an elbow, like a modern hockey stick. The curved end was frequently spiked with sharp flints. They were used with both hands and were a most dreaded weapon, as no armour resisted a downright blow. The curved end was also used for dragging the wounded from their horses.

According to the testimony of the chroniclers, these Indians were very clever archers, living almost entirely by their skill in the chase. They advanced to the attack in close phalanxes. In the first ranks came the lances and spears, behind them in more open order the archers and slingers. These squadrons seldom numbered more than one hundred men, and were hurled against the enemy in rapid succession, each making its attack, and retiring to give place to a new company. Thus they continually presented a fresh and untiring front.

Later on they became expert in the construction of fortifications. These were generally built on a small hill, four-square in form, and constructed of trunks of trees, planted upright in the ground. Inside this enclosure was a smaller one which formed the real redoubt, arranged in the form of a palisade, with loopholes for archery. For a considerable space outside, the ground was honeycombed with pit-falls and ditches, lightly covered with branches of rushes and turf, at the bottom of which sharpened stakes were planted.

After a victory, a great feast was celebrated. On this occasion the prisoners taken were sacrificed, and another ceremony called the *pruleucon* or head dance was performed. A bushy sapling was planted in the ground and on its branches were placed the heads hacked from the enemies during the battle, each one adorned with flowers and garlands. Round this tree the Indians danced and sung songs of victory, each one chanting his own valiant deeds, and jeering and insulting the remains of their foes.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Spanish, the rebels kept themselves fully informed of all Spanish activity. Never lacking information, the Indians always had a precise idea of Spanish strength or weakness. There was seldom a rigid military perimeter; in those areas where the invader could maintain a fort and military supremacy the Indians were reduced to servitude. With a weakening of Spanish strength, rebellion inevitably occurred, so that the distinction as a peaceful or warlike Indian depended largely upon the state of affairs of the moment. Because the Indians so frequently changed roles, they were never out of personal contact with the Spanish.

The Indians received some aid and encouragement from Spanish deserters. There is no telling how many deserted to enemy ranks in the course of the sixteenth century, but in the year 1600 alone it is known that there were over sixty desertions.[14] A good many of these renegades were still living among the Indians in 1607.[15] In fear of peace and subsequent retribution, the traitors taught the Indians many things that would have been difficult for them to learn themselves, such as the proper use of firearms, building of forges and ironmongering, and even the techniques of political administration. The Spaniards were greatly perturbed when a mestizo powder-maker went over to the other side. With volcanic sulphur, saltpetre, and charcoal in abundance, the Indians could make deadly use of the large stores of field pieces and firearms which they had captured. As luck would have it, the deserter repented and returned to the Spanish fold, whereupon he was forgiven and permitted to return to Peru. There were also clerical renegades who apostatised and urged the Indians on in their own religious beliefs and practices.[16]

It is most important to understand that the motive for Araucanian observation of Spanish cultural forms was not to emulate them and thereby raise the level of their own, but to discover Spanish weaknesses and to mobilize Araucanian strength for forceful opposition. A fundamental weakness of Spanish occupation was its dire need of peace. Exploitation of this weakness became a cornerstone of Araucanian strategy throughout the sixteenth century and beyond. Spanish forces, both civilian and military, were too few and too widely dispersed, and the line of supply from Peru was much too long. Effective occupation and permanent settlement depended upon a guaranteed supply of Indian labor. This, of course, was in turn dependent upon total pacification, which would allow the colonists to concentrate on development of mining and agriculture rather than military defense. As experience in Mexico and Peru had shown, a mere handful of soldiers,

14 Encina, vol. 2, p. 306.

15 Nájera, p. 117.

16 *Idem*, pp. 117-122, 143-148, 69, 73-75. In spite of Spanish fears, firearms did not play a significant role in Indian strategy until late in the seventeenth century.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

●723 colonists, and friars could work great wonders if the Indians would but submit. When they first settled Santiago the Spaniards proved that they could provide their living with their own hands, but full barns and producing mines were impossible of realization without Indian labor.[17] Because of this, the Spaniards always hungered for peace, and, through past experience in the Indies, expected it to follow each victory over the Indians.[18] This was the great error of the Spaniards in the sixteenth century. Whenever the Indians found it advantageous to themselves to live in peace — whether because of famine or disease or military weakness — they willingly surrendered themselves to service in the encomienda, there to repair their fortunes and to watch. The Spaniards, hopeful that this was indeed the dawn of a new day, almost invariably sought immediate expansion of their mining and agricultural activities. With a quickening of economic activity, military vigilance declined to a point which invited rebellion. The Araucanians honored such invitations without fail.[19]

Spanish military strategy was also based upon the gnawing hunger for peace. From past experience the invaders knew that peace would follow the defeat and usurpation of a central authority. In the absence of a central Araucanian authority the only alternative was to instill fear by demonstration of military supremacy, and so the Spaniards constantly sought a definitive battle which, when won, would convince the Araucanians of the futility of resistance. Some civilians differed, advising an Indian policy founded upon kind treatment and remission of
725 personal service, but their voices were seldom heard. Recognizing the Spaniards' willingness to do battle, the Araucanians always chose their own battle sites where the terrain could be used to advantage, where the horse, as a military instrument, could be rendered less effective, and where their own strategies could be best effected. With monotonous regularity the Spaniards, always seeking the big victory, sent an army to defeat a rumored gathering of Indians, which rumor was usually broadcast by the Indians themselves. Upon arrival the Spaniards found

17 It should be kept in mind that conquest and settlement were private financial ventures, and very expensive ones. See Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza's complaint in Marmolejo, p. 90.

18 This was Valdivia's experience in Santiago; the Indians tired of "running like beasts" and submitted to reduccion (Valdivia to King, Sept. 4, 1545, Gay, I, p. 61).

19 This technique of dissembling was practiced widely, both in Spanish towns and on the frontiers. The Indians were so skilled that the Spanish were never able to tell whether they really meant to keep the peace or not. Either way, there was nothing the Spanish could do but accept, driven as they were by the economic imperative of their way of life. The Indians seem to have understood this perfectly. The granting of terminal peace in critical areas as a part of wider strategy became common. Revolts were well planned: the chiefs had the White women divided among themselves in advance; the gold that had been dug for the Whites during peace was thrown into the nearest river, or used to ransom Indian hostages; bloody revenge was visited upon the erstwhile masters. See Marmolejo, pp. 58-59, 125; Nájera, pp. 46-47, 65.

7:Padden H-4 (no date) 1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

of peace in war council, could be cut down on the spot by the nearest soldier. Apparently it was quite common for the warriors to kill any Indian who spoke of peace, or who was suspected of having the word in his mouth. Nájera describes a rigorous "inquisition" by the warriors to suppress the minority who wanted to farm rather than fight. Christianity was also forbidden. In the course of time many Indians were introduced to its tenets through close contact with the Spanish, especially the Indians who lived around the Spanish settlements. After the disaster of 1598, of course, the towns were no more. Many of the Indians had become reconciled to Spanish occupation and were genuinely converted to Christianity. Now they were exposed to the mercy of the estado's inquisitors. From what we know, it did not go well with them.[49] Standing in opposition to Christianity was an apparently well-defined Araucanian concept, to wit: the Indian way of life is the only one; those who die in war against the Spanish go to another land where they enjoy more women and luxuries than they ever had in this life; there is nothing to fear in death.[50]

Araucanian opposition to Spanish intrusion was not confined to the field of battle. At all times they waged psychological warfare with consummate skill. While they always celebrated a victory over the Spaniards, and let the settlers know of their celebration, they never disclosed the identity of the fort or community that had fallen.[51] With great finesse they obstructed Spanish intelligence, keeping the enemy in a state of worried ignorance. It is relatively certain that human flesh was not eaten by the Araucanians in pre-Hispanic times except in times of dire necessity.[52] With the advent of the Spanish invasion, however, the eating of Spaniards became institutionalized. Time and time again the chroniclers tell of Spaniards being eaten, in whole and in part, and sometimes, their horses with them. Since there does not appear to have been a tradition to support this practice, nor any magical or superstitious belief connected with the act, it seems reasonable to assume that it was developed for its propaganda value. This would represent an intended clash of values. Discovering the abhorrence with which the Christians viewed cannibalism, the Araucanians appear to have developed it as a cultural opposite, a symbol of resistance. The great chief of Arauco, Caupolican, in hurling a challenge at Governor García Hurtado de Mendoza, boasted that

49 *Idem*, pp. 100, 119, 60, 163, 70; "Tratado de la importancia y utilidad que ay en dar por esclavos a los indios rebelados de Chile," 1599 (José Toribio Medina, *Biblioteca hispano-chilena, 1523-1817*, 3 vols., Santiago, 1897-99), vol. 2, p. 13.

50 Olaverría, p. 40.

51 Nájera, pp. 75-76, 98, 100.

52 See Cooper, p. 732 and José Toribio Medina, *Las aborígines de Chile* (Santiago, 1952), pp. 220-221. Marmolejo (p. 57) states that in the spring of 1556 the Indians were visited by a terrible plague (called *chavalongo*). In the aftermath of famine the Indians turned to cannibalism as a means of survival.

7:Padden H-4 (no date)1957 SG4 Araucanians SG4

he had eaten the previous governor (Valdivia) and would do the same with him.[53] In some cases, even the well-picked bones of Spaniards were consumed in wine after being burned and powdered, the idea being that no memory of the Spaniards should remain.[54]

Another Araucanian device was the making of flutes from Spanish shinbones, most often extracted while the victim was still alive. On occasion the victim was forced to play his threnody on his own shin bones.[55] After the Indians developed their own cavalry they used the shinbones in lieu of trumpets. Nájera describes the sound they made as one which was doleful and morose, producing depression in those who heard it.[56] One can but imagine the effect on the settlers produced by a night-riding horde, sweeping over the country side, accompanied by its unearthly music.

The Araucanians had still other ways to indicate their scorn for Spanish culture. On occasions they cut limbs and made crosses upon which to crucify their captives before roasting and eating them.[57] In their treatment of captive Spanish women the Indians made calculated mockery of the enemy's institutions. The conquerors' ladies were highly prized by the chiefs, who used them as concubinary slaves. In 1605 a new Spanish governor, Don Alonso García Ramón, came down from Lima with 1000 troops. With this show of force he opened negotiations with the caciques of the estado for return of female captives, offering Indian hostages in exchange. The chiefs of Arauco decided to part with some of their prizes, and at the appointed time produced the prisoners. Before waiting husbands and fathers the women appeared, calloused, lousy, naked below the waist, and, more often than not, visibly pregnant.[58] Now we know that the Araucanians had the same ideas of physical propriety as did the Spaniards. Both made the same distinction as to public and private parts of the anatomy.[59] It was by intention alone that the chiefs of Arauco forced their unfortunate victims to appear thus before their menfolk. The chiefs of Purén, although they liked the Spanish no better, provided coverings with which their captives could hide their shame.[60]

The foregoing brief review of Araucanian culture in its history has embraced the outward manifestations of change rather than its internal mutations. Two principal aims have directed the study: one intended to restore the chronology

53 García Hurtado de Mendoza, "Relación" (Gay, I, pp. 183-184).
54 Nájera, p. 54.
55 *Idem*, pp. 53-54, 54-57.
56 *Idem*, p. 115.
57 *Idem*, p. 58.
58 Nájera, pp. 116, 67-71. The author also stated that over 500 Spanish women had been taken captive and at the time of writing some 200 remained in captivity (pp. 37-38).
59 *Idem*, pp. 46-47.
60 *Idem*, p. 69.